1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne.

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 887 521 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used by the old men,[10] so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 887 626 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting the peace chief know their concensus. Their influence was advisory; it was designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attested. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 887 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness, and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal, Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to their indignities is revealing.

---

[754] [10] The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton. "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak, and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The first escapade of these young hoodlums was to back a colt half way through the door of the Smoke Lodge while the pipe-lighting ceremony was in progress. The old men did not utter a sound of protest—the tabu enjoined silence! Not content with this, the boys tickled the pony with a stick and caused him to kick wildly, upsetting the old men within. "He tore things up pretty badly." First mention of this stunt was made by Post Oak Jim. The boys were sons of his uncle and so his classificatory "brothers"; he thought they were very funny indeed. He shook with reminiscent chuckles in recounting the story. That's It remembers the incident too, and also considers it a fine joke.

But the old men, says That's It, were "awful sore." They began heatedly to discuss what should be done to the young men when they caught them. They were trying to figure out "what law they should give them." Here was an unprecedented situation—an undoubted grievance. A demand had arisen for a decision of policy. A social rule forced to consciousness by its breach, an explicit sanction was in the making—perhaps even a law. And the outcome? In the midst of the argument one old man spoke up.

"Now you old fellows," he addressed them. "You, too, were boys once. When the sun was shining in the sky, you were mighty nice. When the sun went down and the darkness came, you were devils. Don't you remember how *you* were? Boys will be boys."

They listened. They all thought about how they had behaved. When they thought about it, they all laughed—and let the matter drop. Even when they themselves were the aggrieved, the old men could serve as peace-preservers.

That's It, in thinking it over, did not know what kind of punishment they would have given the boys if they had gone on in the matter. That was a point that the old men had not decided. That's It had no precedent by which to predict their probable action. One step he was sure of. The old men would have gone to talk to the boys' parents.

If the remainder of Post Oak's story is true (it was not checked with other informants), the failure of the old men to take action against the boys on that first occasion marked the end of their venerable comfort. Subsequent misdeeds perpetrated upon their old heads included the throwing in of a skunk during the pipe-lighting ceremony, with the result that the smokers were driven from the lodge. On another occasion the jokesters slashed the robes which the members had left outside the tipi. They smeared soft feces on the gound by the doorway and covered the mess with a little dirt. The members, who had to remove their moccasins before entering, stepped into it barefoot. These and other indignities they heaped on the

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

522 575 887 heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-making may on occasion father trouble.

575 887 182 One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

565 In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet wearers sometimes seem to have banded together into semi-military fraternities or dance groups. Among those noted in more or less descending popularity, according to informants, were the Crow, Shield, Big Pony (Big Horse), Little Horse (Little Pony), Fox, Buffalo, Gourd, and Drum. These groups seem, however, to have been limited to the northern bands. A youth was likely to join the group of his brother or father, but there was no obligation to do so. He made known his choice, and if the group was willing to accept him, he was admitted. There was keen rivalry among the dancers to secure members who gave evidence of becoming brave warriors. Sometimes the pipe was forced into their mouth. Members were somewhat like brothers. They went on the warpath together and helped bury and mourn a dead fellow member. They had their own distinguishing insignia, songs, and dances, which could not be used by anyone else. When a group sponsored a dance, none but members could attend, except by invitation. They had social get-togethers and held dances in the day or evening, but more frequently in the evening. Dances occurred more often immediately preceding the departure or following the return of a war party or at the time of the communal hunt. Both men and women took part in their social dances. The warrior groups also competed in athletic events, sports, and military exercises. When a member determined to lead a revenge or raiding party, he could usually rely on the support of his own group, but other warriors were welcome to join a party. And when a leader had the support of the majority of the members of his dance group, the War Dance was referred to by the name of his society.

There were minor differences in the purposes and interests of the several organizations, but in general they were much the same. All the members of the Shield group carried identical shields which had been inspired by a vision. The shields were sacred, and among the many requirements for handling them was the one that they could not be permitted to touch the ground. The sacred-shield bearer often found it essential to have a wife accompany him on the warpath to care for his shield.

The Crow Tassel Wearers wore a special type of war bonnet made of fine feathers clipped short except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

under the tutelage of a man who possessed one, as in the case of the Shield group. They placed a tassel on their left shoulder and one in the hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. A man who had no surviving family or a man who had a family tradition with a fighting reputation to uphold might become a member. The members dedicated their lives to war. War was their business. They recognized no family ties of restraint. Loyalty to one another was a superior obligation. They fought and raided together as a unit. They pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were apart from the larger society. Yet they were free to dissolve the band when they so desired. If they had been successful, when they dissolved the band, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.[28]

Among many of the Plains tribes there were "crazy" warriors who did everything backwards. The Cheyennes called them Contrary Ones; the Crow Indians, Crazy Dogs Wishing to Die. The Comanches, too, had a few of these men, called *pukutsi*.

Any man brave enough and desiring to do so could become a *pukutsi* on making up his mind, according to Frank Moeta. He carried a buffalo-scrotum rattle in his hand and would go about the camp singing, no matter what else might be going on. Everything he did was in inversion, but no one ever molested a *pukutsi*, because he was so recklessly brave.

He wore a long sash over his shoulder and rolled up under his arm. In battle, he rolled out his sash, stuck the free end into the ground with an arrow, and there took his stand. With bow in one hand and rattle in the other, he stood singing, tethered by his sash. He neither fought nor charged, but sang his songs until victory was won or death took him. Only a friend could come and free him. Should he give way in battle or release himself after the fight was done, the other warriors would taunt him in an attempt to egg him into an overt act against them so they could kill him.

There were not many of these men among the Comanches. Carrying Her Sunshade in all her long life knew only one. Of him she had the following story.

[28] Informant: Kills Something.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness (naíimeàpaìet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regulated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinî said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, *op. cit.*, ms. II, 53, 11.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

---

29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 230.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 178 624 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes which arose among the younger men.

175 178 224 [789] [621] [222] With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin characteristics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 178 [847] [727] [562] [593] [304] The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone culture, came into practice.

175 178 771 [776] [775] [778] [775] 754 [578] [721] [796] Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted, as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture. Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 171 [621] [575] 796 291 [342] The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 [224] By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.